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NOTES UPON THE EPHODIA OF GREEK AMBASSADORS

BY W. L. WESTERMANN

The expense-money granted to Greek ambassadors has received passing attention in Pauly-Wissowa under the word *ἐφόδια*, and in the excellent treatment of ancient Greek ambassadorial relations by M. Ch. Lécivain in the Daremberg-Saglio dictionary.¹ The following notes are the result of an attempt to determine more accurately the rate of the *ephodia* paid to the *presbeis*, who journeyed ceaselessly to and fro between the Greek city-states.

It is impossible to arrive at even an approximate estimate of the total amount expended for this purpose by any one city in a given year. From the literature and inscriptions, however, one has the distinct impression that it was an appreciable item of the state expenditure, for the Greek embassies were sent out upon every sort of pretext arising out of the diplomatic relations between the city-states.² The connection of the state and its religion in the ancient world necessitated the sending of sacred embassies, *θεωπλαι*, which represented their states before the oracles or at the sacred games. The lack of a system corresponding to the modern diplomatic organization, by which representatives of the different nations are maintained regularly in foreign countries, increased the number of special embassies beyond anything which the modern world knows. Moreover, it must be remembered that the Greek states, through the medium of the *presbeis*, accomplished much that in modern times is done through the agency of the postal service and the telegraph. An indication of the importance of this item of the state budget among the Greeks is seen in an Abderitan inscription of the second century B. C.³ Even in the city of Abdera, relatively unimportant among the Asia Minor cities of that period, the cost of sending embas-

¹See the article in Vol. III entitled "legatio."

²For a partial enumeration of these see Daremberg-Saglio, *op. cit.*

³*Bull. Corr. Hell.* IV, p. 47, l. 48 of the inscription published by Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault.

sies is met out of an especial fund reserved for ambassadorial expenditure, ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὰς πρεσβείας. In Athens, however, the money is paid out of a general fund, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκομένων τῇ δῆμῳ,¹ reserved for the expenditures allowed by special decrees of the Assembly.

The dignity of the sovereign states naturally demanded that the *presbeis* travel in a manner which would command the respect of the states visited. The amount of the *ephodia* must have been reckoned with this in mind. The *Acharnians* of Aristophanes reflects something of the old conservative attitude of the simple Attic peasant toward the luxury indulged in by the state ambassadors when on their travels. The *presbeis* who return from the Great King² announce to the Assembly: "Ay, and we were dreadfully bored in strolling along the Caystrian plain under awnings, lying luxuriously in coaches, fairly done to death. When we were entertained we were forced to drink sweet unmixed wine out of glass beakers and golden goblets." A later portion of the *Acharnians*³ seems to embody the popular protest against the number of embassies which were being sent out and the fact that the urbane and polished young Athenians were chosen for this work. It was no more than natural, indeed quite necessary, that the *presbeis* should be of this new type, trained in the school of sophistry, in order to represent the sovereign city of Athens fitly before the other Greek assemblies and at the courts of tyrants or of foreign kings. The protest of Aristophanes is not one directed against class privilege, since the Assembly itself determined the composition of its embassies. The comic poet expresses only the disgust of the Conservatives that they are being thrust back into the wings of the Athenian political stage, whereas the younger set, the representatives of the new intellectual movement, occupy the stage center. There is no indication in the *Acharnians* that money may be made by the *presbeis* out of ambassadorial work.⁴ Therefore it is apparent that the standard of living required

¹Cf. Dittenberger *Sylloge*², No. 152, l. 45, and article in Daremberg-Saglio.

²Aristophanes *Achar.*, ll. 68 ff.

³*Ibid.*, ll. 604-6.

⁴In one passage (l. 136) Theoros, the ambassador who returned from Thrace, says that the embassy would not have stayed long in Thrace, and Dicaeopolis interrupts, "No, by God, unless your pay was large." Even here there is no intimation that the ambassadors returned with their pockets lined with money saved out of the expenses granted them.

of the members of the embassy was such that *ephodia* fairly represented the actual expenses of the journey and left little or nothing over.

The safest point of departure for the present discussion is found in two decrees of the Athenian Assembly which record missions to Macedon. The first is a decree of the *Boule* and the *Demos* giving thanks to the Athenian embassy to Macedon and to the Macedonian embassy still present at Athens which had been instrumental in bringing about the treaty of alliance between Athens and King Amyntas.¹ The date is shortly before 370 B. C. The terms had just been agreed upon, and the Assembly passes the customary vote empowering an embassy to go to Macedon and exact the usual oath from Amyntas. The treasurer of the *Demos*, ταμίης τοῦ δήμου, is to pay to each of those who are chosen twenty drachmas as *ephodia*. The inscription runs στοιχηδόν, and there can be no question of the correctness of the reading, which is as follows: δοῦναι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβουσιν τοῖς αἰρεθείσιν εἰς ΕΦ]ΟΔΙΑΔΔΔΡ[ΑΧΜΑΞΕ]ΚΑΞΤΩΙ. There is no spacing upon either side of the numerals Δ, and hence no chance of a mistake.² Estimating four days for the trip by boat around Sunium to the port of Alorus and one day more to Pella, the trip to and from Pella would occupy ten days.³ The business of this embassy was merely to exact the oath. Let us allow three days for the execution of this simple business and the regular formality of a public dinner to the embassy. The twenty drachmas would allow, if we accept the estimate of thirteen days as about correct, slightly over one and one-half drachmas per day for each man.⁴

The second decree⁵ deals with an embassy of one man who goes to Macedon about 348 B. C. It corroborates the testimony of the inscription just discussed. The business of the ambassador was merely to announce to Iatrokles, an Athenian captive in the hands of Philip, that the Assembly was looking after his welfare. The

¹ Dittenberger *Sylloge*², No. 78; Hicks and Hill, No. 107.

² See *IG* II. 1, Addenda, pp. 397 and 423.

³ Cf. Götz *Die Verkehrswege im Dienste des Welthandels*, p. 260. For the distance from Athens to Thessalonica the estimate is four days.

⁴ Cf. P. Foucart in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* (1889), p. 457, who reckons on the basis of a drachma a day for an embassy to Delphi.

⁵ *IG* II. 5. 1106. Cf. Aeschines, *περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας*, 15.

ephodion granted is twenty drachmas. The trip was presumably to Pella, although this is not definitely stated in the inscription; and it seems unnecessary to allow more than three days for the duty imposed upon the *presbeus* in question. Again the reading $\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{PAXM}$ is unquestioned, since the numerals are not spaced or set off by punctuation marks.

An interesting inscription¹ of the year 357-56 relates to the troubles which arose in Euboea in the year before this date, when Eretria was attacked by some Euboean cities, with the connivance of Thebes.² The Carystians, however, came to the aid of Eretria, which along with Chalcis, Hestiaeae, and Carystus remained true to its Athenian alliance. The first part of the decree is lacking. It dealt with an alliance between Athens and some city of Euboea other than the four mentioned, since there would be no occasion for a new alliance with them. I judge that the new understanding was with one of the revolting cities. The ambassadors who conducted the negotiations which resulted in this alliance received ten drachmas each.³ A second embassy had gone to Eretria, Chalcis, and Hestiaeae. It must have stopped at least one day in each place, more probably two. The payment was twenty drachmas to each man, and the reading is again clear. A third embassy had gone to Carystus. To its members the treasurer of the *Demos* is authorized to pay ten drachmas.⁴ The word *ἐκδοστω* is not there, but this is undoubtedly an omission of the stonemason. The inscription reads: $\text{ΤΟΥΔΗ} \cap \Delta\Delta\text{PAXMAS}$. With some misgiving Koehler⁵ made the restoration *τοῦ δήμου Δ δραχμάς*. An estimate of the distance to Carystus and a comparison with the pay accorded to the embassy which negotiated in the three cities, Eretria, Chalcis, and Hestiaeae, makes the restoration of Koehler secure.

An estimate based upon Demosthenes *περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας*,

¹ *IG* II. 1, No. 64 and II. 5, p. 22. Cf. Koehler *Mittheilungen des d. archaeologischen Instituts zu Athen* II, p. 211.

² Dittenberger *Sylloge*², Nos. 109, 110.

³ *Ibid.*, 109, l. 19. Koehler, *op. cit.*, estimates six days for the journey and work of this embassy: "So fallen auf den Tag 1 Drachme 4 Obolen."

⁴ See *IG* II. 5, No. 64, l. 13.

⁵ *Mittheilungen des d. archaeologischen Instituts zu Athen* II, p. 211: "Die Zahl kann auch $\Delta\Delta$ gewesen sein."

sec. 390 (158), gives approximately the same result for ambassadorial expense-money as that deduced from the inscriptions. The embassy in question was composed of ten¹ Athenians who were sent to Philip in the year 346. In carrying out their commission they spent about seventy days away from Athens.² The entire expense is given as 1,000 drachmas, which would be at the rate of $1\frac{3}{10}$ drachmas per day for each ambassador.

For the period from 370 to 340 B.C., within which all the sources fall which have so far been used, the *ephodia* were evidently voted by the *Demos* on the following calculation. A rough estimate was made of the number of days needed to carry out the commission and return to Athens. The amount was then voted in some multiple of ten—ten, twenty, thirty, fifty, a thousand drachmas, on a basis of a necessary expense of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas per day. I have found no variation from the round number in any inscription which gives the *ephodia*.

In the *Acharnians* the *ephodia* of the *presbeis* has developed, in the imagination of Dicaeopolis, to two and three drachmas per day. The comic touch in l. 130 seems to have escaped entirely the appreciation of the scholiasts and modern commentators. To Amphitheos the gods had turned over the commission of making peace with Sparta. But the prytanists will not grant him the *ephodia*. Dicaeopolis wishes to obtain a separate peace for himself, children, and wife, and he is willing to pay to Amphitheos the *ephodia*—eight drachmas! Imagine the effect upon an Athenian audience, accustomed to sit in the Assembly and vote expense-money in multiples of ten. Blaydes' explanation shows the utter want of appreciation of the humor of it. "Hanc mercedem ei ut legato dat, nempe pro singulis diebus binas drachmas. Bidui enim iter ab Athenis ad Lacedaemona, et vice versa, fuit." Blaydes refers to Herodotus VI, 120, where the Spartan troops reach Marathon *τριταῖοι*, but after a forced march, *ἔχοντες πολλὴν σπουδὴν*. Even Phidippides reached Sparta only upon the second day.³ If we allow three days for the trip of the embassy to Sparta, three for the return, and three,

¹ Boeckh *Kleine Schriften*, IV. 289.

² Boeckh *Staatshaushaltung*, 3d ed., I. 303 and n. f.

³ Herodotus, VI. 106.

at least, for the negotiations, the humor of the eight drachmas is apparent. It is as though a populist and economical administration should send an embassy to Europe and grant them "six bits" a day for expense-money. It is a melancholy task to explain a joke.

Accepting $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas a day as the rough estimate upon which the *ephodia* were based, it is possible to settle a doubtful restoration by Koehler in an Athenian decree of the year 361-60.¹ In this year, after the battle of Mantinea, the restored *κοινόν* of the Thessalians entered into a "perpetual" alliance with Athens. The Assembly voted to send five men, chosen at large from the citizen-body, ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων, who are to go to Thessaly and "exact the oath from Agelaus the Archon, the Polemarchs, the Hipparchs, the Hippeis, the Hieromnemones, and the remaining magistrates who rule over the *Koinon* of the Thessalians." The treasurer of the *Demos* is to give to the ambassadors εἰς ἐφόδια Δ δραχμας. In Koehler's copy of the inscription² the text appears as follows, with the letters immediately above and below:

. ΤΟΙΞΔΕΓΡΕΞ
ΕΙΞΕΦΟΔΙΑ Δ ΔΡΑΧ
ΑΝΑΓΡΑΥΑΙΤΟΝ

There is no mutilation above or below the vacant spaces which set off the numeral Δ.

Kumanudis³ inserted a second Δ in the vacant space after the numeral. Koehler supplied a third in the vacant space before it. This gives thirty drachmas per man, ἐκάστῳ, for an embassy whose only duty is to go to Thessaly and take the oath of the magistrates of the Thessalian *Koinon* and the division commanders of the army. At the estimated rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas a day the *Demos* would be allowing twenty days for the execution of this commission. Note that there is no mutilation around the numeral. Recall that in the inscriptions upon the embassies to Macedon, to Amyntas, and to Philip the pay was twenty drachmas; for the embassy to the three Euboean cities also twenty drachmas. If we allow three days for the trip to Thessaly, which is surely liberal, three for the return and three

¹ Dittenberger *Sylloge*², No. 108.

² See *IG* II. 5, No. 59b.

³ *Ἀθήναιον*, V, p. 424.

days for the taking of the oath, the rate of pay would even so be $1\frac{1}{10}$ drachmas per day. I have no doubt that the reading should be ten drachmas. The spaces before and after the numeral are left vacant to set it off, as frequently in inscriptions after 420 B. C.¹ In the same inscription, four lines below, Koehler himself leaves a similar space on the right side of the numerals $\Delta\Delta$.²

An Athenian decree passed between 307 and 300 B. C. records the vote of a golden crown and a bronze statue to Asclepiades of Byzantium in return for the good-will and munificence which he has shown to the kings, the people of Athens, and the rest of the Hellenes.³ The decree further provides that an embassy of three men be sent to Byzantium, who are to request that the people of Byzantium publicly declare the honor accorded to Asclepiades, in the theater at the time of the Dionysiac festival. To each of the ambassadors the treasurer of the *Demos* is to give an *ephodion* of fifty drachmas.

If we accept the estimate made by Götz⁴ of five days for the sail to Byzantium, which would seem little enough, and even ten days for the transaction of the business required by the state, the calculation gives a daily *ephodion* of $2\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas per man. In the literary sources there are indications that embassies were sometimes delayed a long time before they could accomplish the state business which had been delegated to them. An instance in point is the length of time spent by the Athenian embassy to Philip upon the mission of the year 346 B. C. An inscription of the year 446-45 which records the alliance between Athens and Chalcis⁵ shows that the delay in presenting foreign embassies to the *Boule* and Assembly at Athens had become an abuse which required definite correction. The oath sworn by the Athenian *Boule* and dicasts contains the following clause: "And I shall present to the *Boule* and the *Demos* within ten days any embassy which may come, whenever I am a

¹See Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* II. 552.

²In Hicks and Hill, No. 123, the reading of the stone, *εἰς ἐφῶδια Δ δραχμας*, is retained.

³*IG* II. 1, No. 251.

⁴Götz *Verkehrswege*, p. 260.

⁵Dittenberger *Sylloge*², No. 17.

member of the prytañ."¹ In the matter of the embassy to Philip, however, very unusual circumstances helped to bring about the delay. Philip himself was anxious to put off swearing the oath as long as possible until he had some Thracian fortresses in his power. He created plausible causes of delay, such as the request that they assist him in the work of reconciling the Pharsalians and Haliaians.² The demand of the Chalcidians in the inscription cited above set ten days as the maximum delay permissible at Athens before the Chalcidian embassies should be presented to the *Boule* and the Assembly. Consequently I conclude that in most cases even at Athens, where the demands upon the time of the *Boule* were great, ambassadorial business was customarily handled in a shorter time. These are the only two cases which have come to my attention where the Greek embassies were detained for an unreasonable length of time.³

An inscription which records an alliance between Magnesia and Smyrna⁴ offers as safe a basis as I could find upon which one may proceed to reckon the time usually required to complete an ambassadorial mission. The *probouleuma* as it appeared before the Assembly of Smyrna provided that three *presbeis* be chosen "who shall take

¹I had cited Xen. *Resp. Ath.* III. 1, as another example to show that embassies were sometimes long delayed. The statement is that sometimes a man could not obtain admission to the Senate and Assembly at Athens though he sit waiting an entire year. Professor Shorey has pointed out to me that this remark in all probability does not refer to embassies, since in the enumeration of the Senate's duties, which follows this passage, the reception of embassies is not mentioned. The form of the statement, ἀνθρώπῳ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτόθι χρηματίζειν τῇ βουλῇ, also makes it improbable that embassies were in the author's mind. We have a number of instances of embassies of one man. Usually, however, they numbered three or more members, rather than a single person, as would be the case if this passage referred to embassies.

²Schaefer *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* (ed. 1886), II. 265.

³The Spartan embassy mentioned by Andocides, περὶ εἰρήνης, secs. 33, 34, may have remained in Athens for forty days, although this is very doubtful. Granted that they did so, the case is quite unusual. Andocides had been a member of the Athenian embassy which went to Sparta in 391 B. C. with full powers to negotiate a peace. They returned to Athens without taking any definite action, preferring to present the counter propositions of Sparta to the Athenian Assembly. At the request of the Athenian embassy the Spartans had granted to the Athenian Assembly forty days in which to come to a decision, and they sent a Spartan embassy to make their formal proposals. We know that the Spartan ambassadors returned without concluding the peace. It is impossible to tell how long they remained at Athens.

⁴Hicks *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 176; Dittenberger *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, I, No. 229, ll. 25 ff. The date is approximately 243 B. C.

up to them (the Magnesians) the articles of agreement which may seem good to the *Demos*, and shall discuss with them what is written in the agreement, and ask them to accept it and carry out its provisions. . . . To the *presbeutai* who shall have been appointed let Callinus the treasurer give expense-money (*μεθόδιον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου*), at the legal rate for as many days as the *Demos* may grant, out of the revenues of the city. Five days were allowed." This is followed by the names of the three ambassadors.

The distance from Smyrna to Magnesia is less than twenty-five miles. One day is sufficient for this trip, even on foot. This leaves three days for the transaction of business and the banquet in the *prytaneum*, an honor which was accorded to the Magnesians who had come to Smyrna (l. 36). This is surely about as fast as diplomatic work of this kind could be completed. It seems safe, therefore, taking three days as the absolute minimum number of days required for a mission which had to treat with a foreign state, to assume that ten days would cover the actual time spent by the embassy to Asclepiades of Byzantium in that city.¹ This ought to allow for all ordinary delays, such as festivals and the like. It is clear, therefore, that the rate of the *ephodia* was considerably raised at Athens in the period after 346 B. C., the date of the embassy mentioned by Demosthenes, which was paid at the old rate of 1½ drachmas.

The rise in the *ephodia* which we have thus established can be more accurately dated, through an Athenian decree of the year 325-24,² which records the mission of a single ambassador to Dionysius, tyrant of Heraclea on the Pontus. The *presbeus* is granted fifty drachmas *εἰς ἐφόδια*. Heraclea is about one day from Byzantium. The sum is clearly reckoned upon the same rough basis as that in the later decree upon the embassy to Byzantium. Fifty drachmas was apparently the customary estimate of the Athenian

¹In the earlier part of the paper (pp. 205-6) I have assumed that three days ought to suffice for the actual work of embassies whose duty was only to exact the oath. The embassy would appear formally before the proper officials upon the first day, the oath could be administered upon the second, and the banquet could be held upon the third day. Upon the fourth the embassy could start upon its return. In all cases I have tried to make the estimate large enough to be safe.

²Dittenberger *Sylloge*², No. 152.

Assembly for the trip to the region about the Propontis at the end of the fourth century.

A badly mutilated inscription found at Arcesine on the island of Amorgos¹ gives further evidence of an increase in the *ephodia* rate. It is a decree of the League of the Islands and falls probably within the reign of Ptolemy II, 285–46 B. C. It deals with public money advanced by the sacred bank at Delos to the cities of the islands.² There is a provision that certain persons are “to be present in,” and below this the remaining letters read εἰς ἐφόδιον ἐκάσ[τω δρα]χμὰς τρεῖς εἰς]. . . . Whether the restoration of the word δικαστῶν made by M. Delamarre is correct or not, the thought is clear, namely, that the representatives of the cities are to receive each an *ephodion* of three drachmas, and undoubtedly this is the rate for each day. Delamarre has restored ἐκάσ[τωι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν δρα]χμὰς τρεῖς.

The restoration ἐκ τοῦ[νόμου], in the Smyrnaean inscription cited above, was made by Boeckh,³ and has been accepted by all the later editions. There are several Athenian inscriptions which prove that at Athens also a set rate of pay had been fixed by law or by custom for ambassadorial *ephodia*. An embassy⁴ which goes up to King Spartocus of the Bosphorian kingdom in the year 286–85 is to be paid ἐφόδια τὸ τεταγμένον, “the regular, or fixed, amount.” The expense incurred in the publishing of this decree and the sending of this embassy is to be met by the “officials in charge of the treasury,” τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. The Assembly no longer determines the amount of the *ephodia*. This power rests at this date with the new “treasury officials.” They made the reckoning of the days required for the trip, as the Assembly had formerly done, on the basis of the fixed rate. This rate cannot be determined; but it was presumably the 2½ drachma rate of the period following Alexander, or possibly higher.

The change in the Athenian treasury department which is indicated in the new title τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει must have occurred

¹IG XII, fasc. 7, No. 13.

²M. Delamarre, in *Revue de Philologie* XXVIII (1904), 98.

³CIG 3137.

⁴Dittenberger *Sylloge*², No. 194.

after 307 B. C.¹ For in the honorary decree to Asclepiades of Byzantium,² of the period 307–300 B. C., the *Tamias* of the *Demos* is still the official authorized by the Assembly to pay out the *ephodia* in amounts definitely fixed by the Assembly. It is well known that the organization of the Athenian state underwent important modifications during the rule of Demetrius, and upon the liberation of Athens from Demetrius' sway in the years 288–86 B. C.³ The loss of the right to fix the amount of the *ephodia* on the part of the Assembly is in itself of little importance. Yet the thought suggests itself that this slight decrease in the competence of the Assembly and corresponding increase in that of the treasury officials is a heritage of the tyranny of Lachares and the "freedom" under Demetrius.

In the year 172–71 B. C. it is the *ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* at Athens who advances the money to ambassadors. A decree of this year⁴ empowers him to reckon and pay out the *ephodion*, τῷ δὲ χειροτονηθέντι ἀνδρὶ μερίσαι τὸ ἐφόδιον τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν. It is evident from the use of the expression τὸ ἐφόδιον that the set rate for the *ephodia* was still maintained.

A comparison of the *ephodia* rate with the wages earned by laborers at Athens at two different periods shows conclusively that the deduction made from the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes is correct. The *ephodia* remained, throughout the fifth and fourth centuries at least, exactly what they purported to be, namely, an advance by the government which would approximately defray the traveling and living expenses of the ambassadors while engaged upon the special mission for the state. The building accounts for the Erechtheum⁵ state that *πρίσται*, which probably means stonecutters here, receive one drachma a day, the architect a drachma, and unskilled labor a like wage. We may regard this then as the living wage of the

¹ Cf. Busolt *Die gr. Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer* (Iwan Müller Sammlung, IV. I.) 1, 237, n. 6.

² See *IG* II. 1, No. 251.

³ See Wilamowitz *Phil. Untersuchungen*, IV. 201; and Niese *Geschichte der gr. und maked. Staaten*, I. 358, n. 5.

⁴ Dittenberger *Orientis Graeci Insc.* II, No. 771, l. 54.

⁵ Cf. Jevons "Work and Wages in Athens," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XV (1895), 240.

free laborer. Certainly the one and one-half drachmas per day, which has been established as the approximate basis for the *ephodia* between the years 370 and 346 B. C., cannot have done much more than meet the necessary expenses of the *presbeis*. About the same ratio between the wage of free labor and the *ephodia* of ambassadors holds good also for the end of the fourth century. Building accounts from Eleusis, of the year 329–28 and of about ten years later, prove that unskilled labor was then earning a drachma and a half, skilled labor as high as two or two and a half drachmas.¹ I have tried to show above that the *ephodia* rate was about two and a half drachmas after 325 B. C.

Keeping in mind the expenses incurred in travel, the *ephodia* of the ambassadors seem moderate enough when compared with the fees paid at Athens for state service. When the *ephodia* were calculated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas daily, the Archons were receiving 4 obols a day,² the dicasts' pay was 3 obols, the payment accorded to members of the *Boule* was 5 obols. The Amphictyones, who administered the funds of the Delian temple, received a drachma per day, the Athenian governor over Salamis and the officials sent to Samos, Skyros, Lemnos, and Imbros a like amount.³

The higher rate of the *ephodia* which first appears in the inscription of the year 325–24 stands in an unusually close relation to a movement in prices and wages in Greece which Beloch has called a "Preisrevolution."⁴ The rise in the price of wheat, barley, and cattle was accompanied by a corresponding advance in wages, attested in the Eleusinian building inscription of 329–28. The rise in the fees paid for the attendance upon the *ecclesia*, to a drachma for the other meetings and nine obols for the *κυρία ἐκκλησία* was undoubtedly necessitated by the general increase in wages and prices.⁵ The *ephodia* were in the same way affected by the general

¹See Jevons *op. cit.*

²Gilbert *Greek Const. Antiquities* (ed. 1895), p. 222, n.4; cf. Aristotle *Pol. Ath.* 62, 2.

³Arist. *Pol. Ath.* 62, 2.

⁴Beloch *Griechische Geschichte* II. 355 ff.

⁵Arist. *Pol. Ath.* 62; Beloch, II. 358. The explanation sometimes given for the increase in the payment for attendance upon the *ecclesia* is the superficial one of demagoguery and a desire to curry favor with the proletariat. See Kenyon *Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens*, note to chap. lxii. This reason is hard to reconcile with the

advance in the standard of living, although the pay of the state officials mentioned above was not raised, at least until after the date of the Polity of the Athenians.

The inscription of the year 325-24 giving the embassy to Heraclea, which I used in determining the $2\frac{1}{2}$ drachma rate, has been thoroughly discussed by Ulrich Koehler in an article upon "Attische Psephismen aus den Jahren der Theuerung."¹ Chiefly upon the evidence of this inscription he dates a crisis at Athens, lasting from 330 to 325 B. C., when a sudden rise in the price of wheat forced the state to energetic measures to obtain grain for its poorer citizens at a low price.² Beloch correctly remarks³ that the speculations in grain of Cleomenes of Naucratis, the financial governor of Egypt under Alexander, cannot be responsible for this crisis, although they may have augmented it. Neither in Beloch nor in Koehler's article is there any suggestion of the connection between the crisis at Athens and the great sums of gold and silver thrown into circulation by Alexander, especially in 331 B. C. In this year the old Persian treasuries of Susa and Persepolis, 170,000 talents if the ancient accounts may be trusted, fell into the hands of the young and lavish prince. How quickly it came into circulation and how soon its effect would be felt in Greece itself may be surmised from the fact that Menes, the newly appointed governor of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia, was given the sum of 3,000 talents to assist Antipater in the war against King Agis.⁴ Much of this money must have gone immediately into Greece. In the same year Alexander dismissed his Greek allies, who returned home with full pay and 2,000 talents as an additional gift.⁵ The direct effect of these sums upon the market of Greece and the indirect effect of the vast amounts paid out in Asia by this princely young spender must have been great.

well-known poverty of the Athenian state at the time of the Social War and the careful administration of its finances under Eubulus and Lysicurgus. Certainly the *ephodia* and the pay of the ecclesiasts were more closely dependent upon the actual cost of living than the payment of the higher officials.

¹ *Athen. Mittheilungen*, VIII (1883), 211 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 167.

³ *Geschichte Gr.* II. 356, n. 4.

⁴ *Niese Geschichte der gr. und makedonischen Staaten*, I. 95.

⁵ *Niese* I. 99.

This sudden increase in the gold and silver supply of the western Asiatic and Greek world must as inevitably have caused a rise in prices as the discovery of gold in California in 1849 did in our middle-western and eastern states within the succeeding five years. The average wholesale price of food-stuffs rose from 79 in 1849 to 101.2 in 1853, the average price of all commodities from 98.7 to 109.1.¹ The rise in prices is already marked in the report of the year 1850. The corresponding increase in wages does not appear so quickly; but the average wages rose from 92.5 in 1849 to 98 in 1855.² In the same years (1849-53), according to Sauerbeck's statistics, the average cost of total food in England rose from 74 to 102, a rise of about 38 per cent.³ In his summary of tables at the end of the article from which these data are taken, Sauerbeck gives no other large cause for the rise than the gold discoveries in Australia and California. The means of communication and transportation between the Persian cities and Greece in Alexander's day were decidedly better than those between California and the Mississippi River in 1850. I judge, therefore, that the stimulus to the money-market of Greece from the opening of the Persian treasuries would certainly show itself within a year.

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¹See the Aldrich Senate Report on Wholesale Prices, Wages, and Transportation, *Senate Reports*, Vol. III, Part I (1893), p. 100.

²*Ibid.*, p. 176.

³Augustus Sauerbeck "Price of Commodities and Precious Metals," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, XLIX (1886), 581 ff.